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Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T TEHRAN 0350

EXDIS

DEPT PASS WHITE HOUSE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SULLIVAN

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (SHAH OF IRAN) XF EG SA IR
SUBJ: REPORT OF SHAH'S TRIP TO ASWAN AND RIYADH

1. SHAH HAS ASKED ME TO SEND THIS REPORT OF HIS TRIP TO ASWAN AND RIYADH TO THE PRESIDENT. HE RETURNED FROM RIYADH EVENING JAN 10, GAVE DINNER FOR VISITING US SENATORS THAT SAME EVENING, AND DECANTED FOLLOWING DETAILS TO ME AFTER SENATORS HAD LEFT.

2. FIRST, HE PROFESSED HIMSELF TOTALLY CONVINCED BY SADAT'S SINCERITY AND "AMAZED" BY HIS FLEXIBILITY. HE SAID SADAT PERSONALLY ATTRIBUTED HIS CURRENT ABILITY TO OFFER GENEROUS TERMS TO FACT THAT EGYPTIAN PEOPLE ARE CLEARLY BEHIND HIM.

3. IN DISCUSSING WEST BANK, SADAT INDICATED HIS WILLING-NESS TO ACCEPT PALESTINIAN ENTITY WITH QUALITIES LESS THAN

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FULL INDEPENDENCE. HE PROPOSES, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT ENTIRE PALESTINIAN ENTITY (INCLUDING GAZA) BE DEMILITARIZED. HE PROPOSES THAT DEFENSE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS BE HANDLED BY JORDAN, WITH WHICH THIS ENTITY WOULD BE LINKED. HE WAS ALSO PREPARED TO ACCEPT RECTIFICATIONS IN THE 1967 FRONTIER, WHERE ISRAEL'S SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS CLEARLY DICTATE THESE.

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4. SADAT SEEMED MORE CONCERNED WITH DEFINING THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINE QUESTION THAN HE DID IN DESCRIBING HOW TO REACH THAT SOLUTION. HE WAVED ASIDE MODALITIES OF PLEBISCITES OR OTHER ACTS OF "SELF-DETERMINATION", SAYING THAT, ONCE THE OBJECTIVE HAD BEEN AGREED UPON, WAYS COULD BE DEVISED TO REALIZE IT.

5. ON SINAI, SADAT TOLD SHAH HE WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT A BUFFER ZONE BETWEEN ISRAELI AND EGYPTIAN FORCES, WITH THE GREATER DEPTH ON THE EGYPTIAN SIDE. HE WOULD, FOR EXAMPLE, REQUIREONLY ONE KILOMETER ON ISRAELI SIDE AND WAS PREPARED TO HAVE THE EGYPTIAN SIDE UP TO THIRTY KILOMETERS.

6. ON SHARM-EL-SHEIK, HE WAS PREPARED TO HAVE IT SECURED BY UN TROOPS AND TO MAKE THE GULF OF AQABA A "FREE NAVIGATION ZONE", TO BE SO DECLARED BY ISRAEL, EGYPT, AND JORDAN.

7 ON NORMALIZATION, SADAT IS PREPARED, IMMEDIATELY UPON SIGNATURE OF AN AGREEMENT, TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL, OPEN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, EXCHANGE AMBASSADORS, OPEN HIS BORDERS, ENGAGE IN TRADE, AND EVEN ESTABLISH EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI JOINT VENTURES IN THE SINAI.

8. SHAH DESCRIBED FOREGOING PROVISIONS AS "MORE THAN ISRAEL HAD A RIGHT TO EXPECT". HE SAID THAT, IF SADAT MADE THEM PUBLIC, HE SAW NO WAY ISRAEL COULD REFUSE THEM.
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IN FACE OF SUCH GENEROSITY, HE THOUGHT WORLD PUBLIC OPINION WOULD CONDEMN ISRAELI NEGATIVISM ESPECIALLY IF IT WERE RELATED TO "A FEW SILLY SETTLEMENTS".

9. IN RIYADH, SHAH SAID HIS TALKS WITH SAUDIS WERE QUITE SATISFACTORY. KHALID, FAHD AND SAUD SAID THEY WERE PREPARED TO AGREE THAT THE PALESTINE ENTITY SHOULD BE LESS THAN INDEPENDENT AND SHOUD BE LINKED TO JORDAN. THEY ALSO AGREED THAT HUSSEIN SHOULD NO LONGER FEEL BOUND BY RABAT AGREEMENT ON PLO, BUT COULD ACT WITH RESPECT TO THOSE PALESTINIANS IN THE WEST BANK. HOWEVER, AS SHAH WAS BOARDING PLANE, KHALID INDICATED THAT HE THOUGHT THERE MIGHT BE SOME FURTHER POINTS WHICH NEEDED CLARIFICATION, AND OFFERED TO SEND SAUD TO TEHRAN FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS. SHAH ACCEPTED IMMEDIATELY AND WILL WORK OUT EARLY DATE FOR SAUD VISIT. (HE EXPRESSED SOME PUZZLEMENT ABOUT ITEMS WHICH NEED CLARIFICATION, AND SAID HE HAD FEELING KHALID DIDNOT ALWAYS GRASP NUANCES OF THESE SUBJECTS).

10. FINALLY SHAH ASKED THAT PRES BE INFORMED THAT HE WOULD UNDERTAKE TO TELL THE ISRAELIS IN VERY EXPLICIT TERMS THAT THEY WOULD HAVE NO LEG TO STAND ON IF THEY TURN

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DOWN SADAT. HE LEFT ME INPRESSION THAT HIS PREFERRED WAY
OF DOING THIS WOULD BE TO HAVE ISRAELI EMISSARY (PRESUMABLY
DAYAN) COME TO TEHRAN IN NEXT FEW DAY.
11. SHAH PATENTLY PLEASED TO HAVE BEEN ABLE TO
PLAY ROLE IN THESE EVENTS. HE WOULD OBVIOUSLY WELCOME
LETTER FROM PRES ACKNOWLEDGING HIS EFFORT AND I URGE
THAT ONE BE SENT SOONEST.
SULLIVAN

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